

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 378 271

UD 030 251

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TITLE No Strangers Here? A Study of the Experience of Low-Income Students of Color in High School.
PUB DATE Apr 94
NOTE 40p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (New Orleans, LA, April 4-8, 1994). For a related document, see UD 030 255.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Black Students; Catholic Schools; Disadvantaged Youth; *Educational Experience; High Schools; *High School Students; Hispanic Americans; *Low Income Groups; *Mentors; *Racial Discrimination; Role Models; *Student Alienation; Student Attitudes; Summer Programs; Tutors
IDENTIFIERS New York (New York)

ABSTRACT

In 1963 Catholic leaders in New York (New York) began the Higher Achievement Program (HAP), a high-school based, 6-week college preparatory program for boys from low-income families that takes place in the summer after seventh grade. Academic study in the morning is followed by athletics, field trips, and other social or artistic activities in the afternoon. Emulatory models play a key role, especially the HAP Scholars, young men chosen because of academic ability, leadership potential, and a low-income family background. These teacher assistants and mentors receive grants to two city Catholic single-sex high schools. Since 1965, 474 young men have received HAP scholarships, and as of 1990, the program has had a retention rate of 79 percent. Questionnaires were completed by 185 current and past HAP scholars, 35 percent of whom are Black, 41 percent Hispanic American, 9 percent Asian American, and 15 percent White. Taken with interviews with 32 alumni, the responses present a picture of the blatant and subtle racism students experience, of their points of connection with school, and their points of isolation. The importance of ethnically similar role models for these young men is highlighted. (Contains 94 references.) (SLD)

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No Strangers Here ?

A Study of the Experience of Low-Income Students of Color in High School

Annual Conference of the American Educational Research Association

New Orleans, Louisiana

April 1994

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INTRODUCTION

In December 1963 Catholic leaders in New York City, hoping to end "passivity, procrastination and buck-passing in the face of the immense injustices suffered by young Black men," (Dugan, 1963) began the Higher Achievement Program [HAP], a high-school based, six-week college-preparatory program for boys from low-income families that takes place during the summer after seventh grade. In the founding documents, churchmen expressed their desire to "provide leaders for the service of the community: doctors, lawyers, teachers, clergymen, scientists and businessmen" through encouraging high academic attainment and what they named "social goals," namely that majority and minority group boys learn interracial justice through personal contact and friendship, through studying and recreating together. In the morning, boys study reading, writing and mathematics. The afternoon is given over to sports, field trips and other social or artistic activities. Emulatory models play a key role, especially HAP Scholars, young men chosen because of academic ability, leadership potential, and a low-income family background. HAP Scholars, most of whom are Black and Hispanic, function as teacher-assistants, tutors and directors of games. They also receive grants to attend Southwell or St. Matthew's High School. [The names of these two institutions along with individuals have been changed to insure confidentiality].

FACTUAL DESCRIPTION OF HAP SCHOLARS

In my research, I examine the experience of the 474 men who have received HAP scholarships. Since 1965, 168 alumni and 36 current students at St. Matthew's and 134 alumni and 34 current students at Southwell have participated successfully in this program. 78 did not graduate from Saint Matthew's and 24 left Southwell; as of 1990, the HAP Scholars Program had a retention rate of 79%. Since I could not obtain the addresses of those who never graduated, I limited my population to alumni and current students. I sent questionnaires to 165 HAP scholars at Southwell [131 alumni and 34 current students] and the 204 HAP scholars at St. Matthew's [168

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alumni and 36 current students]. 52 Southwell alumni and 32 St. Matthew's alumni had unknown or outdated addresses. Of the 136 Southwell alumni who were sent questionnaires, 72 (53%) responded; 29 (85%) of the students responded. At Saint Matthew's, of the 152 who supposedly received questionnaires, 58 (38%) of the alumni responded; 26 (72%) of the students responded. In total, 386 HAP scholars were sent questionnaires and 185 (47.9%) responded.

I look at two major areas in my analysis of survey data: family of origin and current educational attainment and career status of alumni. Over 85% of the grandparents and 65% of the parents were born outside of the U.S. Moreover, two-thirds of the parents of African-American HAP scholars at St. Matthew's were born in the southern United States. I also looked at religion: 91 out of 101 Southwell HAP scholars listed themselves as Catholic whereas 53 out of 84 scholars at St. Matthew's called themselves Catholic. Among the non-Catholics at St. Matthew's, two are Hispanic, four are Asian, one lists himself as White and Egyptian and all the others are Black. The vast majority of Blacks list themselves as Baptist. In terms of elementary schooling, 92% of HAP scholars at Southwell attended Catholic elementary school, whereas only 49% of St. Matthew's HAP scholars attended Catholic school. In regards to educational attainment and professional status, there are many businessmen, a number of lawyers, several physicians, some journalists and a few teachers. There has been a significant generational shift up in the level of educational attainment and income.

One of the most interesting findings from the questionnaires is that standard racial categories [Asian, Black, Hispanic, Native American, White] are insufficient to describe this population. Where I expected to find homogeneity within racial categories, I found great diversity. For example, at Saint Matthew's most of the Black HAP scholars call themselves African-American and their parents and/or grandparents came from the rural south. In addition, they identify themselves as Baptist and they represent the largest percentage of public elementary school graduates. At Southwell, many Blacks come from various locations in the West Indies and identify themselves accordingly. Many are Roman Catholic and the great majority attended Catholic elementary school.

The makeup of the student body has changed over time. The first HAP scholars were overwhelmingly Black and Puerto Rican. Today, the Hispanic population is more ethnically diverse and there is a significant percentage of Asians [nearly 16%] in the population. Not surprisingly, parents today have a higher educational attainment level than they did in the early years of the program. In spite of changes over time, one fact remains clear: The story of HAP scholars is one of great upward mobility and success.

RESEARCH SETTING

Southwell and Saint Matthew's are private Catholic schools. As such, they are similar to their non-Catholic counterparts in National Association of Independent Schools -- tuition is nearly twice that of other Catholic schools in the metropolitan area, the curriculum is strictly college preparatory and the schools are administered by a headmaster under the direction of a self-perpetuating board of trustees. The similarity goes beyond finances, curriculum and administrative structure, however. Southwell High School was founded by the Church in 1847 to serve the educational needs of the Catholic population of New York. In the school's 1989 annual report, the Headmaster-President noted that Southwell's long tradition of welcome to immigrants now goes beyond Europeans. Of the 802 students at Southwell all are male, 8% Black, 18% Hispanic, 9% Asian, 65% White. Teachers, administrators and students describe the White population as heavily ethnic, with a predominance of Irish and Italians, the Blacks as heavily West Indian, and the Hispanics as largely Puerto Rican. 89% of the students are Roman Catholic and a vast majority of all students attended Catholic elementary schools [220 out of 252 ninth graders]. Most of the boys are from Manhattan and Brooklyn, with a smaller representation from Queens, the Bronx, Staten Island and Long Island. A handful of students come from Westchester County and northern New Jersey. Tuition is \$3,700 but this year 164 students receive \$262,000 in financial aid.

Saint Matthew's Preparatory School was founded in 1877. Like Southwell, it has served a White ethnic population, heavily Irish, Italian and Eastern European. In 1989, the school population was all male, 88% Roman Catholic, and falls into the following racial categories: 4% Black (mostly American), 13% Hispanic, 13% Asian (heavily Filipino) and 70% White. The vast majority of students live in northern New Jersey. The tuition is \$3095 with a mandatory student fee of \$225 for a total cost of \$3320. Like Southwell, Saint Matthew's has a significant tuition assistance program: 155 students are receiving in excess of \$185,000.

The religious context of the HAP Scholars Program is significant. Catholic schools in the United States have moved from being a wall of protection for Catholic immigrants to a comfortable position in the mainstream of society. Two events symbolize the collapse of those walls: the election of John F. Kennedy as President of the United States and the Second Vatican Council. In the former event, most Catholics came to consider themselves as mainstream, acceptable to the majority. In the latter event, the very nature of the Church came under question. Vatican II opened up a new rationale for the Church and its institutions; the entities which once protected and preserved a tradition now serve the world. The church universal espoused a "preferential option for the poor." In the United States, Church leaders discovered a new vocation with echoes of past experience: A community of immigrants, once poor and marginal, who had tasted discrimination and prejudice and had become wealthy and influential,

were called upon to provide educational opportunities for low-income minorities in the United States.

The espoused vocation of Catholic schools and their lived reality are not necessarily the same. The increasing cost of education, especially the salary of faculty and staff, and the need for proving social status seem to have a high priority. Though there are some effective schools with a large number of students from low-income families, Catholic schools tend to have middle-class constituents: few students come from families with an annual income below \$15,000 or above \$50,000. Though Catholic schools have made concrete efforts to have a large representation of people of color in the student body, these students are highly represented in parochial or diocesan schools that are in the greatest financial peril. There is a need for studies that look at the nuances, the complexity and the dissonance between the espoused vocation and the lived reality of Catholic schools like Southwell and Saint Matthew's.

RESEARCH CONTEXT

Catholic schools and children of color

Before 1982 there was little written about the experience of students of color in Catholic schools (Greeley, 1982). Much of the subsequent literature is political in nature: articles that advocate public financing of Catholic schools on historical, legal, economic and philosophical grounds (Doyle, 1981 & 1985; Hunt and Kunkel, 1984; Schneider, 1989). The most significant Catholic-school studies in this past decade were done by James Coleman and his associates (Coleman, 1981; Coleman, Hoffer & Kilgore, 1981; Coleman, Hoffer & Kilgore, 1982; Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Bryk, 1993). Using data from the High School and Beyond Study [HS&B], they concluded that Catholic schools were more effective than other schools in fostering the academic achievement of students with less well-educated parents, Blacks and Hispanics. Coleman conjectured that students do well in school cultures where they feel a sense of belonging, cohesiveness and connection. Coleman used an economic metaphor, "social capital," to describe the "glue" that holds a group of people together. Coleman's work was controversial and prompted a number of further studies. Some of them used HS&B data to corroborate findings about the effectiveness of Catholic schools with minorities (Bryk, Holland, Lee & Carreido, 1984; Greeley, 1982; Hoffer, Greeley & Coleman, 1985) and some of them responded to critiques about Coleman's methodology (Elford, 1981; Erickson, 1981; Keith & Page, 1985).

Coleman's data are encouraging for Catholic school leaders, but they do not paint a complete picture. Aaron Pallas, commenting on the findings, wrote that while there is strong evidence that Catholic schools have more desirable climates than public schools, "these data do not tell us why this is so" (1988, p.551). One reason he gives may be that, though "non-cognitive

effects of schooling are likely to be more important than the cognitive effects" (Sarason, 1971,p.268), they are difficult to identify and evaluate.

Several authors have tried to understand better the non-cognitive effects upon the climate of Catholic schools. Peter McLaren (1986) documented how difficult it was for his immigrant student population to move from what he calls their "street-corner state" to their "student state." This particular Catholic school, though it provided a safe, orderly, and academically demanding environment, reinforced pernicious social-class structures. Nancy Lesko looked at the espoused ethos of community in a setting which "as a Catholic school promoted equality, but as a secondary school in a stratified society, promoted individualistic competition and achievement," (1988, p.38). She discovered this discrepancy between espoused vocation and lived reality through careful observation of the school setting and interviews with students. Jane Van Galen (1989) presented a case study on the same phenomenon in a mid-western high school. In a different genre, Richard Rodriguez's autobiography (1982) looks at the crippling cultural separation he experienced as a lower-class Chicano in Catholic elementary and secondary schools. These analyses point to the ambiguity of the experience of low-income and minority students in Catholic secondary schools.

School culture literature

Gerald Grant (1988) intensively observed a school in order to discover what shapes the "ethos of a school," the non-cognitive effects, the cultural experience of students. Sara Lawrence Lightfoot's portraits of schools not only reveal traits of goodness, i.e. nurturance, kindness, stimulation and stability, but also help the researcher understand the perspective of students, especially in regard to "subtle messages of exclusion and inclusion," (1983,p.311). Gary Orfield made explicit the link between minority education and school culture studies:

Close and prolonged examination of the functioning of individual schools is one way to reach a better understanding of complicated processes. Many who study minority education know that there are subtleties about relationships and processes within schools that are not captured by surveys or test scores but that make critical differences in attitudes and educational success, (1986,p.5).

Close and prolonged examination of the culture of a particular school has provided important insights into the experience of minority and low-income students. Lois Weis (1985) used an important overarching image to describe the experience of Black students in a community college; she depicted them as being "between two worlds." Students experienced dissonance between the aspirations, aesthetics and language of the school world and the home world of family and neighborhood; they felt themselves in both worlds without belonging fully to either. James Rosenbaum (1988) looked at the enormous adjustment obstacles of low-income Black children who moved with their families into a middle-income White suburb. The study

found that although suburban teachers spent much time with students, "mothers reported significant incidents of teachers' racial discrimination, as well as mistreatment by other school officials." In an article about assimilation without invisibility in a public high school in northern California, James Stanlaw and Alan Peshkin (1988) wrote about Black students becoming less "intense" in use of language, musical tastes and clothing; the school culture prompted them to eschew the tastes and habits of their home environment. In a two-year ethnographic study of a Black public high school (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986), Signithia Fordham noted that high achieving students are confronted by a dichotomy between ethnic collectivity and individual achievement. They camouflage efforts directed at behavior that their peer group identifies as "acting White" while attempting to appear "raceless" to their teachers and other adults in the school context. In Fordham's analysis, raceless Blacks in and out of school contexts "adopt personae that indicate a lack of identification with, or a strong relationship to, the Black community in response to an implicit institutional mandate: Become 'unBlack'," (1988, p.58). Since *anomie* seems to be the price of success, Fordham identifies this strategy as a pyrrhic victory.

More generalized studies also provide insight into the experience of low-income students of color in schools. In a recent study, more than half of the 1,865 tenth to twelfth graders interviewed have witnessed or heard about racial incidents with violent overtones. One in four students reported that they had been the target of a racist or ethnic act. African-Americans and Hispanics, at 70% and 67% respectively, were much more likely than Whites, at 54%, to have heard or seen such incidents. Slightly more than half of the students would tell their parents about a racial incident, but only 25% would tell a teacher or other school official, (Lawton, 1990). A more recent study reports that six out of ten Black students have felt themselves to be victims of discrimination and only one in ten white students acknowledges their complicity (Davis and Weinstein, 1992). Reginald Gougis wrote about the more subtle form of racism within school culture. He claimed that minority students need constantly to disprove incompetence in White schools. A pernicious pattern then sets in: "Recurring thoughts and feelings associated with race prejudice contribute to a reduction in their motivation to learn," (1986, p.149). John Ogbu highlighted the "ambivalent social identity" among students who must "think and act White enough" to be rewarded by White institutions like schools. Because Black students need to abandon their own cultural identity, Ogbu claimed, their striving for success becomes a "subtractive" process, (1988). In addition, Ogbu has produced a number of theoretical studies that consider the "caste-like" status of people of color in the United States. He looked at educational failure among minority-group members and concluded that, "involuntary minorities invent a dysfunctional oppositional culture of style that leads to rejecting occupational and school success as White," (Foley, 1991, p.82).

If the school is seen as a community, educational success is difficult to measure since people form their personal identity in relationship to others. In her ethnographic study of teenage cliques, Joyce Canaan pointed to the significance of style, language, rules of belonging and extracurricular involvement in the web of relationships in an educational setting, (1987). Maureen Hallinan and Richard Williams found that "the stability of interracial friendships is critical to understanding both how Blacks and Whites interact in different settings and what significance they attach to inter-racial friendships in desegregated schools," (1987, p.653). In his study of school success (1982), Martin Patchen noted the impact of inter-racial relationships on academic performance, the opportunity for inter-racial contact in and outside of the school, racial attitudes of peers and teachers, similarity of students to other-race schoolmates, participation in activities involving common goals, social class and friendship patterns, and inter-racial contact in grade school. Janet Ward Schofield suggested that as students come to know each other more as individuals who can be differentiated from others in the same racial group, their behavior may be more determined by interpersonal attitudes and less by inter-group attitudes. In the epilogue of a recent edition of her 1982 book, Schofield wrote that educators should focus on "policies or practices that facilitate interpersonal as opposed to intergroup relations," (p.215).

How can educators focus on policies and practices that facilitate interpersonal relations? Inquiry about factory-like schools can employ easily quantifiable data on scores, salaries, input and output, educational attainment and income. Different kinds of data are needed to examine interpersonal relations, the ethos of a school and notions of belonging. When the simile of "school as factory" is abandoned in favor of the "school as community," educators must learn the perspective of the participant in the rich particularity of her or his community.

Non-Catholic Independent Schools

Since the mid 1960's a number of affluent white schools, public and private, have made efforts to welcome low-income students of color into their student bodies especially through organizations such as A Better Chance, Prep for Prep and Aim High. If success is measured by a generational increase in educational attainment, professional status and income, the literature demonstrates that, as in the case of the HAP Scholars Program, these efforts have met their goal (Barnds, 1988; Griffin and Johnson, 1988). However, these data do not describe the complex and deep ambivalence many of these young people of color experience in white middle-class institutions.

In a 1988 study of A Better Chance [ABC], the largest initiative to bring working-class and minority students into independent schools, Judith Berry Griffin and Sylvia Johnson view the program through two lenses: one is "factual, quantifiable, and technically precise," the other is "evocative, anecdotal, subjective and inspiring" (pp. 32-33). Whereas inquirers about Catholic

school students tend to look through a "factual" lens, independent-school researchers tend to use qualitative inquiry, especially biography and autobiography, in order to evoke new insights into experience of these individuals. (Anson, 1987; Cary, 1991; Countryman, 1988; Pennington, 1983; Terris, 1985; Witcher, 1980). Two "evocative" studies are particularly relevant because White researchers document the school memories of adults of color.

Elinor Griffin interviewed 32 Black and Latina alumnae of Milton Academy. She concluded that these women have "become self-confident as they matured, perhaps because they had set their goals early in their lives and achieved them." The boarding school experience, however, had a powerful negative impact on their self-esteem. Griffin surmised:

They did not feel included and lacked a sense of group identity. They were not certain of being liked, respected, or accepted for who they were, nor did they find that others understood their thoughts, feelings, or opinions. There were few others like them with whom to connect, including adult role models and mentors...They felt ugly in an environment in which the norm for beauty is White, stupid when their academic preparation did not stress writing or reasoning skills, and naively unprepared to combat the customs and prejudices of the White majority...they felt socially inept, which intensified their sense of isolation as they were separated from their families and cultures. They had few opportunities to form relationships with men of their race. One of the most difficult experiences was being ridiculed by old friends, who accused them of being "uppity" (Griffin, E., 1991, 17).

The most significant study on the topic was published in 1991. Parallel to their 1982 study of Jews in America, Richard Zweigenhaft and G. William Domhoff (1991) conducted 38 semi-structured interviews with a representative sample of Black ABC alumni about their recollections of summer orientation programs, prep-school experiences, years in college, careers and personal relationships. The book is organized chronologically, beginning with a chapter entitled "From the Ghetto to the Elite" and ending with "Careers and Power." Following this stream is a chapter in which the authors, having proclaimed ABC a success because participants demonstrate the ability to master the "chemistry" and "culture" of the White elite, consider the reason why these African-Americans are still blocked from the top when "the usual white excuses, lack of education or the popular cultural style, do not hold" (p. 166):

The ongoing slights, the strong pressures to marry within one's own race, media accounts of the physical attacks on black property, the ceiling so many have encountered in their careers, the residential segregation that continues to separate whites from blacks, and the ongoing worry that their children will fall prey to the oppositional culture are continuous reminders that white racism has not decreased on many important issues. (p. 174)

Like the recently published *Two Nations* (Hacker, 1992), this book's strength is in its documentation of evidence that racism perdures. Its weakness is the scant attention (pp. 9-10) given to the stance of the researchers themselves -- White, middle-class academics examining the experience of low-income people of color.

EVOCATIVE DESCRIPTION OF THE HAP SCHOLARS POPULATION

Research methodology

In order to sensitize myself to the experience of HAP scholars, I asked a group of 20 low-income minority students from Saint William's High School the questions or topics they would include in my study. Though St. William's is a private Catholic school similar to Southwell and St. Matthew's, its student body is far less diverse. Out of 1,112 total students in the 1989-1990 school year, only 8.9% were persons of color: 41 Black, 28 Hispanic and 30 Asian. The students told me to consider the following questions: Did friends at home act differently when you went to a Catholic school? Did you experienced blatant racism such as verbal slurs, stereotypical jokes or graffiti on desks and walls? Did you experience subtle racism through others' body language, staring, giving a look that says "You don't belong here"? Did teachers treat you differently because of your ethnicity? Were there adults in the school who understood what was going on inside of you? Did you feel awkward when slavery was discussed in American History class? Did people always expect you to be the expert about anything to do with your own ethnic group? Did people always suspect a minority kid when something was stolen, when a fight started, when someone got mugged? Did your mother ever tell you how much racism could hurt? Did people assume you played basketball because you were Black? Did people get upset when you sat with your friends at table in the lunch room? Did you ever notice that Asian kids are made fun of a lot? Did you notice how people treat Blacks and Hispanics differently? Did rich White kids seem really spoiled? Were poor White kids more prejudiced than kids from the suburbs? Did light-skinned kids have it easier?

During the summer of 1989, it became apparent that I had to devise a strategy to go beyond the information available from documents, observation of HAP scholars and discussions with adult members of the school community. Between May and November 1990, I asked 32 HAP scholars to describe their high school experience in taped, open-ended interviews that took place in a variety of settings: the schools themselves, HAP scholars' homes and offices and public places. Out of the 104 alumni who volunteered to be interviewed, I chose 16 from each school who were representative of the entire sample. They ranged in age from 18 to 37 and were spread evenly throughout the years. Though questionnaire data indicates that 35% of HAP scholars are Black, 41% are Hispanic, 9% are Asian and 15% White, the other data sources mentioned above would increase the percentage of Blacks and Asians. As a result, I interviewed 14 Blacks, 12 Hispanics, 3 Asians and 3 Whites all of whom, as HAP scholars, were from lower-income families. The interviewees represent the range of educational attainment levels, current income and careers of the larger group. The interviewees are reflective of the geographical diversity of HAP alumni: the majority are from the New York-New Jersey area, two are from upstate New York, three are from the Baltimore-Washington area, two are from California, one is from the

North Carolina, one is from Chicago and one is from Boston. I included in the sample of interviewees some who expressed strong positive views of their school experience and some who were negative in responding to the question at the end of the questionnaire: "'If you were conducting this study of HAP, what questions or topics would you include? Please specify."

As life history narratives my biographical interviews were open-ended in order to discover the memories, images and impressions that were foremost for the interviewee in order to access the perspective of the HAP scholars (Patton, 1980). I made frequent use of follow-up probes. Sometimes I used the "offering a version" technique (Murphy, p.102), the story of Christian Neira, a student at an elite independent school in New York who spoke about the difficulty of living between two worlds (Neira, 1988).

I had all the interview texts transcribed and I then read the texts according to guidelines developed by Carol Gilligan and Lyn Brown (1988). I first read for plot, e.g. What story is the interviewee telling? Who are the characters? Where are they? What are they doing? What is their relationship to each other? Are there repeated words and themes? Are there any contradictions? What are the key images? I then read for the voice of the self in order to attune myself to the interviewee's perspective, understanding as best as possible the scholar alumnus' story on his own terms and in his own language. Operationally, I looked for first person references throughout the transcript while asking: What first person pronouns are used and what verbs? Are they in the active voice or passive voice? When does the voice seem strong, hesitant, angry, happy or sad? Both within and among transcripts, I paid close attention to dissonance and seeming contradictions. I used memos in my field notes as a written account of my own thinking (Patton, 1980) and kept an interview log (Merriam, 1988, p.82). When I read them for a sense of self, I was cognizant of Brown's methodology in her own work with adolescent girls:

I listen to her voice and attend to her vision, and thus make some space between her way of speaking and my own. In the process, I, the reader, become engaged with or involved with her, the speaker, and as I listen to the way in which she speaks about herself, I am likely to experience myself coming into relationship with her, so that I begin to know her terms and to respond to what she is saying emotionally as well as intellectually. (1988, p.22).

Finally, using the constant comparative method (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), I documented the images and metaphors, the symbols and stories, the convergent themes that program participants use to describe their experience.

In the last step of data collection, I met for a second time with eight of the original interviewees. I chose men who represented the variety of backgrounds and opinions found in the entire group. Before the interview, I sent each of them a letter outlining the seven organizing themes. Seven of the men I interviewed felt that I was faithful to the breadth of their experience.

One wondered if I should have added an eighth theme about the ideal of a "man for others" that characterizes the explicit ideology of a Catholic school. Since all of the men I interviewed agreed with my analysis, I use the seven themes as an organizing principle for my study entitled "No Strangers Here?"

Analytic Themes

The wall of the chapel at Saint Matthew's Preparatory School is adorned with large felt banners made by students on retreat. At each of these retreats students pick a theme and create a unique commemorative banner. One of them features a globe and the names of participants with the inscription, "No Strangers Here." That motto captures the espoused vocation of the school: to be a nurturing culture for an ethnically and socially diverse group of students. One Puerto Rican alumnus put it, "The school made no bones about the fact that we were to serve our community and that we were all equal, and that we were all the same people, we all bled, we all breathed, we all ate." In reality, the experience recounted by HAP Scholars at St. Matthew's and Southwell is ambiguous: a story of both belonging and exclusion. In some ways, students of color were always strangers and in other ways they were familiar, part of the oft-touted school "family." Since there is frequently a discrepancy between the espoused vocation of the school and the lived reality of those who participate in its culture, the title of my study is in the interrogative form, "No Strangers Here?"

In my presentation of interview data that converged, I want to expose my readers to key issues that affect low-income minority students in private high schools. Using the following organizational themes, I describe the breadth and complexity of the phenomenon under consideration as seen through the eyes of a White middle-class researcher.

1. Nurturing home environment

Though HAP Scholars came from violent and threatening environments, they described homes that were nurturing. A Puerto Rican named Frank described in detail the section of New York in which he grew up:

Picture a neighborhood that's full of crime. Some people don't have jobs, some people do not want jobs. You have a lot of drug addicts, especially with crack. It's had a big impact on the city... People become dependent on it and they mix the drug with other chemicals and other ingredients and it messes up your mind... When I walk home, I get out at 3:30-4:00 and I walk home about five I see beautiful girls with drug addicts or beautiful girls that are pregnant or sell their bodies because of drugs, girls out of school because they'd rather spend \$5 on crack than go to school and pay \$5 for lunch. They'd rather smoke crack than pay their rent. So you have that outside and you have a lot of burglaries and you have a lot of breaking into houses.

HAP Scholars frequently spoke with sadness about the condition of their home neighborhoods. One sweltering day in July 1989 I was sitting on the roof of Southwell planning a

class with Martin, a HAP tutor. In the course of the conversation, Martin told me he wanted to go on to college and then to law school. When I asked him the reason why, he pointed over the rail and looked out at the city, nodded his head in the direction of the Lower East Side and said, "That's why." At first I did not understand his gesture. He looked at me and said, "Poor people, run down housing, slum landlords, the whole bit."

It seems that HAP Scholars are from but not of some of the most difficult neighborhoods in New York. Like Philip, the Jamaican immigrant, most HAP Scholars grew up sheltered and protected in the midst of violent neighborhoods. An African-American named Ken described his home: "I lived in the projects. We didn't have a lot of money...my mother always said we were poor." He then differentiated the blight and hopelessness he saw in the projects from the apartment he shared with his mother and brothers, "There were stacks of books everywhere in the house. We were always reading."

The survey results showed that the educational attainment level of HAP parents is considerably lower than that of their sons. Though not educated themselves, these women and men instilled in HAP Scholars a belief in the efficacy of schooling. A Chinese man recalled a frequent conversations with his parents:

They'd say, "why do you think we work so hard? Why do you think both of us work? It's to have the three of you go through school and have a good life." That was the work ethic which is pretty much the same with most Chinese immigrants who come over--for the parents to work and make sure that their kids don't have to work as hard when they grow up.

An African-American man told me: "When my parents heard about this program they said, 'You'll do it. If it costs money we'll pay for it but you'll do it.'" A Puerto Rican man echoed the same notion:

When I think about growing up I think about a difficult time, thinking about whether we would have food on the table for dinner at times and wondering if I was going to make it to the next day. It wasn't your typical childhood kind of experience. When I recall my childhood I think of it being pretty hard...My mother had two jobs. She was really working really hard and she always instilled in me the importance of an education, the importance of trying to succeed, trying to get a skill for myself so that I could become economically stable and not have to work as hard as she did. She always wanted me to go to the best schools even though at times she couldn't afford it. She put me in Catholic schools even though it was difficult for her to finance it.

Family support for the education of HAP Scholars went far beyond finances. A Puerto Rican named Bill voiced the sentiments of many others in his description of the motivational role his parents played:

My parents, they're my two heroes. I just love those two people. I'll do anything for them. They don't put the pressure on me and they even tell me, "We don't want any pressure on you" and there is none, but it's always that I want to do it

for them. I want to do it for myself, but at the same time, I want to do it for them, for all their effort and hard work that they gave for me, that they put in...There's always times when you're growing up that you can go one or two ways and a lot of times when I was coming to those points, my parents pointed me in the right direction. A lot of times, a kid doesn't know which is the right direction. He'll usually go with the people hanging out. I always hated coming in to work on my times tables or something like that but it made me who I am.

Mothers played a predominant role in insuring that HAP Scholars avoided the dangerous patterns of the neighborhood. The typical interviewee described himself as the "good boy" of the family. A Latino named Tom depicted his boyhood as "sitting down and reading books and stuff like that. My mom sort of kept me in the house a lot." Peter, the Latino son of a single woman, described in greater detail the impact of motherly concern:

You know how some parents don't have the time but my mother would make the time. She always told me to be careful. It's funny though because when I was in grammar school I was called the "Mama's boy" because my mother would pick me up after grammar school. It's funny though because the same people that call me Mama's boy now either are in jail or they're drug addicts or they're dead. It is sad. I look back at my mother when I was small and I would go, "Ma, don't pick me up at school...I want to go by myself." I would throw a little tantrum, but now I see it as: "You took me to a limit, Ma, don't get me wrong. You were very strict. I will try to be more relaxed with my kids if God will give them to me, but I understand."

HAP Scholars not only had strong parents, but many of them played a strong parental role for others. Since adult members of the family worked long hours in an attempt to loosen tight financial constraints, the HAP Scholar often became the responsible person in the household. In this regard, my subjects differed from neighborhood peers and siblings. This is not surprising since HAP Scholars are selected because they exhibit leadership skills during the HAP summer session. Louis, a Haitian HAP alumnus, described a typical scenario:

My older brother, he went off and did his own thing anyway. My mom, she knows when to lay down the law and she does it a lot because she wants us to have more than she had when she was growing up because when she was in Haiti she came from a very poor family. She didn't have much education because she couldn't afford it beyond a certain level. And so she came to the United States and she started working. And she was constantly working, so that made her depend more on me and my other brothers because we had to be home, we had to take care of ourselves. So when I came to the schools I was kind of mature already. I wasn't into going out and doing crazy things.

Because of low family income, HAP Scholars matured at an early age. Jorge, a Latino immigrant, recalled the many tasks he had to perform to help the family get by:

Because we didn't have money for clothing, I learned to sew, do the hems, sew the buttons and take care of my clothing, so I had to spend time with that. The apartment we lived in was pretty bad and if there was anything that needed repairing... My father was a carpenter, he's retired now. During the summers he used to take me with him and be his assistant so I learned a little bit of the basics.

I used to take care of any repairs at home. When you're concerned about food, clothing, and your shelter and your relatives, those things are more important than anything else.

Socioeconomic status was not the only factor that forced HAP Scholars to be responsible at an early age. My survey data indicate that most HAP Scholars came from immigrant families. An immigrant from the West Indies described his home life:

My father was a very authoritarian individual. We had strict rules that we had to adhere to. He did it for a reason: because the country was foreign to him, he had a family and he had to protect them. We were brought up very strict but not that I wasn't able to participate in any things...You always did your homework. Initially in grammar school, they would look it over first when you did your homework or if you had any problems they were always there to help and assist with it. You had curfews; you had to ask permission to go anywhere. If you were going over to your friend's house, they'd want to meet your friends first. And whenever you were bringing friends over you had to ask permission first, you couldn't just do it arbitrarily or just on a whim. Later on the rules kind of slackened up as they got to know... and as you became older, more responsibility was given to you. It was just very strict. I recall that I never played Little League. I had asked my parents to do so but because they both worked at the time, no one was able to go with me or watch me while I played, so I couldn't. I didn't think it was a loss but I do recall my friends in grammar school when they signed up for Little League, they just did it and it didn't matter that someone was there watching or supervising. That's just the kind of household that I grew up in.

HAP Scholars often described their families as strict, old fashioned or foreign. By and large, HAP Scholars came from strong cultures where the sense of identity was keen and positive, the demands challenging and therefore consonant with the educational objectives of the HAP Scholars' program.

The "evocative" literature about independent schools indicates that boarding-school students suffered a dramatic rupture from their home of origin. In general, HAP Scholars describe more continuity between family and school. Unlike the former, HAP Scholars never severed ties with home and family during their high-school career; they maintained a "cultural cushion". Louis, a young Haitian alumnus compared the experience of high school to moving away to an elite White college:

You have home, which is everything you need. It's that cultural cushion or safety I guess. When you go away to school, you don't have that there anymore. So you have to become that cultural safety yourself, or you have to assimilate with everyone else, or you have to become like: "Wait a minute, there is something unique about being me, so I'm going to be me." You know, I think that's what happened to me when I went to HAP. You never realize how different you are, because you're always at home, and everybody acts just like you. You know, your Haitian brothers, your Haitian sisters, your parents, they talk like you, you know, whatever. But when you go away, suddenly you can't go home and say, "Well, they're all like me."

Tom, a Puerto Rican immigrant, followed the typical pattern. He described the chasm between school and home: "The first two years were tough, because of the isolation at home, the isolation at school, not knowing what world I really belonged to." I told him I could not understand his feeling unless he gave me more detailed and specific information. He responded:

I think speech is probably the best way to have an example. I communicated with my friends from the neighborhood in a completely different manner than I communicated at school. Like "hey man," the slang that was pretty popular back then. That would definitely be a part of my vocabulary. And then I would have to let all that go once I got into Southwell.

He told me he also had a third pattern of language. He and his mother always spoke Spanish at home. I asked him if, during high school, he was conscious of the impact of trilingualism. He told me the following story:

At the end of my sophomore year I did and it was kind of funny. I had gotten myself in a situation at Southwell ... well those two big worlds came clashing.

When I asked him what precipitated the clash, he answered:

It was a problem with someone in our class who had a problem with somebody in a public school. And some guys from the public school came to Southwell to beat up this guy. And I remember standing outside or walking home and I went into this pattern of speech and everybody just looked at me. [I spoke] in English, but my street talk came out, and everybody just looked at me. People were freaking out, "Oh shit!" And then I would come back and turn around and say, "What?" I thought it was funny, looking back. Somebody told me, "Jesus, where are you from?" "East Harlem." "We never knew that. You're just like a totally different person."

Most HAP Scholars did not understand subtle complexities of inclusion and exclusion until they reached adulthood. In that sense, Tom's story is exceptional. Throughout my data, I find fewer references to pathology than in independent schools. The contrast between non-Catholic independent schools and poor, urban neighborhoods is far greater than the contrast between these two Catholic high schools and the low-income areas of New York City. Nonetheless, like their counterparts in elite schools or METCO students in a wealthy suburb of Boston, many HAP students felt the need to create a "cultural cushion" in their school.

2. The creation of a home in school

Many HAP Scholars tried to create a sense of home in school even though they lived in their home of origin. The most common illustration of a home base was the cafeteria table. A recent alumnus currently attending an elite university told me that if I were to walk into the cafeteria of St. Matthew's in the mid-1980s I would see that

the Filipinos, the Chinese, and the Koreans hung out together. The Latinos hung together but also often with Black guys. They sat next to us in lunch room. The Blacks sat in the corner in the back. A few of the Asian guys would be in the front together but mostly kind of scattered amongst the White guys.

HAP Scholars reported that they gravitated toward others like them out of a positive orientation; quite simply, people who have common interests, tastes and backgrounds enjoy each other's company. An Asian named Jim spoke of the importance of a similar physical appearance:

I realized why I hung out maybe with a lot of Asians: because I grew up with a lot of Asians. My friends were Filipino, although I didn't specifically know what the differences were between us, I would just know that they're like me and so there wouldn't be any conflict of interest or anything like that.

I asked John, a Black man from St. Matthew's, to explain why Black students sat together at lunch every day. He told me that their behavior in the institution was due to their lives and relationships outside of the institution:

For example, we would sit around as Black students and talk about things that we felt comfortable with because we came from a lot of the same backgrounds. I felt more comfortable with the Black students where I could sit and say, "Greg, I was up on Clerk Street last night and I ran into your sister." We felt comfortable because we had that after-school experience.

When I asked Bill, an African-American who graduated from Southwell in the mid 1970s, to explain what caused them to congregate together, he explained in more detail the notion of comfort:

We just feel comfortable... the Blacks would be talking about Stevie Wonder while the Whites would be talking about Peter Frampton. We would be talking about disco and the Whites would be talking about Led Zepplin. We're like, "Ugh, Led Zepplin" and they're like "Disco sucks."

Tastes in music, like tastes in dress, hairstyle or food, are arbitrary; one style is not necessarily better than another, it is merely different. When I mentioned that notion to Bill, he said, "But you really don't understand what it was like." When I asked him if there were norms within the school culture, standards of what is good and bad, he told me: "Yea, it definitely that one was better than the other, that type of thing." I asked if that caused animosity between ethnic groups. He answered,

I guess if you want to call it animosity, I guess that's what it was. But it wasn't bitterness. But then again that's part of the racism: not being able to accept something that's different. Something that's different, you know, is pushed aside, not worthy of what you deem to be normal.

Mike, an alumnus of St. Matthew's who went on to a Black university, shared hurtful memories of exclusion from mainstream school culture. In contrast to his college experience, the White dominance of his high-school culture forced him to find an asylum. He explained how he found it on a daily basis:

There just was a feeling of a home base. Some of the White students didn't like that. I remember this guy said, "We guys, we like you but you always eat lunch together. Why can't you come eat with us?" It was, "Sure, we can eat lunch any day we want. I may eat lunch with you tomorrow or the day after but the day

before or the day after that, I'm still going to be eating lunch with my friends here. If you and I could at least see eye to eye on things. Do you have a feel for where I'm coming from in terms of my background? You see, I have to worry that behind my back you'll call me a nigger. I have to worry about that. If you did that and you're Black I know that's okay, that's amongst us, we talk to each other like that. If you're White and you do that then we have to fight." So there was that comfort level there. It was more of a case of "You may say you're friends with me, I still don't know you because I don't know you outside of this environment. I don't really know what you do in your home. I don't know what your parents' concerns are. They might not even like you sitting in this school with a Black student. I don't know that. The Black students... we're together; we all come from the same kind of background."

There are many ethnic organizations at St. Matthew's. Though Southwell does not have the range of ethnic clubs found at St. Matthew's, it too sponsored a club for Blacks and Hispanics called the Vanguard. These organizations served the same role as the ethnic tables in the cafeteria. Steven, a Black alumnus, explained:

Because we had the Ebony club and we had our time outs, and we'd sit together and eat lunch together, but then we'd go back to class and we'd interact with White students in class, interact on the field, interact everywhere else, but I still needed to go back and have my time with Black students because we had at least a commonality of a cultural background.

Some students of color at Southwell and St. Matthew's needed a "time out," an oasis. In a sense, the school was a desert for them, a place that felt barren and hostile. On the other hand, as I described earlier, some of the interviewees told me that they simply enjoyed the company of friends. During one of our interviews, Bill Jones talked about these ethnically-based social groups. We discussed the ambiguity of students' feelings on the issue and the difficulty of interpreting our own observations of school life. He illustrated the dilemma with a story about lunch period in the commons, a former gymnasium where students now "hang out" during free time:

Last week I was walking through the commons. You have the White guys on one side underneath the balcony, and then you have the Black guys by the steps, Black and also Hispanic. It's so striking, it's amazing. I called one kid up, an Hispanic guy, Raúl Martinez, one of the HAP Scholars and I said, "Raúl, come here. Look, what do you see?" "I see Southwell guys over here and Southwell guys over there." "No, no. Be clear about this. What do you see? Give me the picture." "I see White guys over here and Black and Hispanic guys over there." "Yes. And why is that?" "Why not?" I said, "Look, suppose one of those White guys went over there. Would anything happen?" He said, "Nothing, why?" "You mean no one will say anything?" "No. If you have a question to ask somebody or you want to go talk to somebody, guys get up from here and go over there, and guys go from there to over here." As a matter of fact, when we were talking one guy got up and slapped this other guy on his head and then they were horsing around and I told them to stop. I then said to Raúl, "Don't you see that." He said "Yeah, so what, two guys fighting." "Don't you think it's bad?" "What's bad about it? We're sitting where we want to sit. We're not bothering anybody. My friends are here and his friends are over there. If I need

to ask him something or he needs to ask me something he'll come over or I'll go over. We play basketball together all the time. What's the big deal?"

Since 1965, the number of students of color [not only HAP Scholars] has increased steadily at Southwell and St. Matthew's. The figure at both schools today is roughly 35%. Over time, diversity has become more of an expectation at these two schools. The face of a typical Southwell or St. Matthew's student is no longer freckled; it is White, brown, yellow or Black. As a result, cultural norms are becoming eclectic. Yet one still sees a gathering of the similar, a home base even for students who get nourished every day in their home of origin.

3. The experience of exclusion

The explicit curriculum is a good place to look at the cultural norms in any school; the Multicultural Assessment Plan of the National Association of Independent Schools begins there (1988). With the exception of a Spanish course for Spanish speakers at Southwell and a religion course for non-Catholics at Saint Matthew's taught by a Black Baptist minister, the curriculum at both schools has not included the history, literature or traditions that reflect the diversity of the student body. As I mentioned earlier, HAP Scholars usually accepted what they found as normative while they were still in school. Only from the adult viewpoint and in conjunction with their broader educational experience were they able to appreciate the complexity of institutional inclusion and exclusion. The retrospective glance at the experience of high school has led some to realize that almost all the great men and women of history, the literary figures and the religious figures, were of European descent. In that sense, some HAP Scholar alumni looked back and saw that amidst the explicit learning that took place in class, there were pernicious implicit lessons: you are not as good as your White counterparts; in this center of learning and culture, you will always be a stranger.

Kevin is a White HAP Scholar alumnus would concur. While in high school, he accepted what he learned as normative; one view of the world was the view of the world. His collegiate studies offered him a richer and broader view of culture. His experience there caused him to speculate:

It's good to know not only your own history but to be exposed to another's history. It sensitizes you. Think if people were exposed to the Blacks who contributed so much to this country. It makes you wonder what would happen if people had that new outlook.

Steven, an African-American professional in his early thirties, commented on the impact of a more inclusive curriculum during high school. Just as the evocative methodology aims to foster empathy in readers, a broader curriculum would encourage greater understanding across racial lines. He told me:

You got the impression that the White kids don't know a whole lot about African culture or Spanish culture, in that they don't really appreciate it...Right now, most of the educators are saying that a Black history course once a week doesn't really do as much as incorporating it into the lessons but at least that would be a place to start: some kind of course on non-European cultures, taking Asian culture, Spanish culture, African culture, even a semester on each one. I think that would do a lot just because it would get people talking about a whole lot of issues that eventually might cause something to trigger in their own mind about the way that they interact with people from these cultures who are sitting next to them talking about slavery and reconstruction.

Steven pointed to an important aspect of the HAP Scholar's experience: the phenomenon of exclusion often got played out in classroom interactions. Black alumni often mentioned that they would wince when slavery, the Confederacy or desegregation were discussed in U.S. History class. First, the topic introduced the young man to painful learning about his cultural heritage and the reality that his people were estranged from the fullness of life in the United States. Often, he underwent that learning without companions. Second, the Black student became the center of attention. A Black alumnus named Mike told me, "When we talked about drugs and violence, I was supposed to be the expert." Many HAP Scholars described classroom interactions in a way that gave me important insights into the comment, "I was no longer a person, I was a race."

The experience of inclusion and exclusion is seen not only in the curriculum and in classroom interactions, but more broadly within the school culture. Often, HAP Scholars had difficulty explaining the experience of exclusion. Steven, an Black alumnus of St. Matthew's explains the non-specificity of the feeling:

I don't think of it as a racist place but clearly any time you are in a minority, there is an institutional measure of racism, just by the fact that when you walk into the cafeteria, if you are only one hundred out of one thousand, there are institutional pressures that can be racist not in a very hostile way, but just in a very subtle way that tells you you're different. That is one manifestation of racism, I think. I don't remember any blatant kinds of attacks or assaults that happened. I do know that as Black kids there we were very conscious of our position.

Jim, a Chinese alumnus said of the majority of his classmates: "I always thought they were more cultured than I was. And I always thought I was behind. I just had that sense. And so I had a lot of catching up to do." When I asked Jim to explain what he meant by culture, he talked about the trivia he did not know: names of people, words of songs, classic fables, aphorisms and proverbs, religious customs that everyone else seemed to understand yet never articulated. Often, HAP Scholars talked the fact that trivia, over time, took on power. For low-income students of color, they created a sense of alienation from an unarticulated yet pervasive school culture.

Subtle feelings of exclusion were not always prompted by words. When HAP Scholars described feeling unwelcome or out of place, I would press them for specific details. Their

response was: "It was a look," or "I just felt it," or "I know it but I can't explain it," or "It was in the air." Often, the response was silence. I asked Pete, a Puerto Rican, to describe belonging or exclusion at St. Matthew's. He talked about "the subtle things" that had a huge impact. When I asked him to explain more clearly, he said

You just had the sense. They made you feel like they didn't want to hang out with you, they just didn't want you to be around. They moved to another table or they gave you the little stares or just didn't talk to you so you would move.

One-third of the HAP Scholar alumni I interviewed reported that they had experienced blatant racist incidents in high school. However, the other two-thirds reported comments that I considered hurtful and cruel but which they dismissed as "just stupid" or "dumb". Moreover, interviewees told me that ethnic slurs were not limited to persons of color. Many commented that if I had been in the cafeteria, the locker room or the playing field I would have heard, "greasy Wop," "dumb Polock," and "thick Mick" along with Nigger, Spic and Chink. The majority of HAP Scholars told me that racism did not predominate in the school, that racial incidents were rare and unimportant. Not everyone agreed with that assessment, however. Ned, a Black man from St. Matthew's, told me "I would never submit my son" to the same experience of living in a "racist" institution.

In the course of my interviews, several Black students told me they were ridiculed for listening to "Nigger music". Frank, a Puerto Rican, remembers being called a Spic during his first year. He told me: "I had never heard it before and I didn't know how to react." I asked, "What did you do?" He told me, "He repeated it a good fifteen times before I charged him." Jim, a Chinese alumnus recalled several incidents in which he felt persecuted because of his ethnicity. As one would expect in an all-boys' school, a typical response to these taunts was a fist fight. Jim told me,

A group of guys said, "Get out of my way, Chink!" and spat in my direction. I had a fellow classmate who was Black. He stepped in and made it known that this is not the way you treat a fellow classmate. Later in the year I had another incident with another student which ended up in hallway fight. I think he was just looking for someone to taunt and tease. He was shooting spitballs across the class and hitting mostly Asian students, and the Asian students weren't saying much. They didn't try to form any kind of rebuttal. I took offense at it. After that class, during the hallway break, I started slugging and during the slugging he slipped and he fell on his head. The rumor was that I knocked him out because he was out the next day with a concussion. I'll tell you, from there on it was smooth sailing.

HAP Scholars did not have to be the object of a racial incident in order to be affected by it. A strong sense of exclusion developed not only as a response to one's own interactions, but also to one's observations. Peter, a Latino, recounted the impact of witnessing racial incidents directed toward others:

I saw myself as an outsider, like somebody who is there for four years to get through this thing. I remember one particular occasion where some of the Italians were calling this guy "tar baby" in front of the teacher. His response was, "Shut up! Don't call him that. He can't help it if he's Black." I was astounded.

Though most HAP Scholars minimized the impact of hurtful exclusion in their high-school experience, many did receive messages that they were strangers. These messages came from the curriculum, classroom interactions, a vague sense of unwelcome that was communicated verbally and non-verbally, and blatant racial slurs. When HAP Scholars encountered racism, even in its most trivial form, they felt shock, disbelief, hurt and rage. One man used a powerful simile to describe a racist incident: "It's like being punched in the face." Another told me, "When it happens, it's like hitting the wall." In these poignant incidents of exclusion, HAP Scholars lost their innocence. They realized that inside some of their teachers, classmates and teammates was a deeply imbedded racism. They also learned that interracial friendship is one of its most tragic victims.

4. Friendship across and within ethnic and social-class lines

An original objective of HAP was the fostering of interracial friendships, "...that majority and minority boys learn interracial justice and charity in the most effective way through personal contact and friendship, through studying and recreating together." At Southwell and St. Matthew's, positive interracial relationships are fostered by putting together in one community young men from dissimilar neighborhoods, ethnic groups, and social class backgrounds. In this type of strong culture, each member of the group perceives himself as distinct from those outside. Intragroup differences thus become diminished. Tim, a Puerto Rican immigrant, told me that the military atmosphere of Southwell helped him. He claimed, "The uniform and the regimentation eliminated all social boundaries." At St. Matthew's, the tie and jacket functioned as symbols of affiliation. They indicated that, no matter where you were in the city, no matter your background, you were a member of the family, a "Prepster."

Sports provided experiences of cooperation and camaraderie between minority HAP Scholars and their White classmates, as did music, debate and theater. For some, retreats and other religious activities provided an opportunity to develop relationships. Others had academic interests that bonded them together: a penchant for computers or a desire to read *The Aeneid* together. Many HAP Scholars reported that some students simply had an ability to get along with people, a gift of personality. Richie, a young Black alumnus of Southwell, provided a good example:

I went to the library. I'd hang out there and meet some people and go down to the lunchroom and hang out with those folks, go to the gym, hang out in the quadrangle, in the commons, and I would just move around a lot and would never find myself sitting on one spot. I just flowed and got to meet everybody and I got along with everybody and stuff so it was never like you could

categorize me in one group and say "yeah, he's with the jocks." Everybody liked me and I was liking everybody.

I do not want to paint the schools as asylums, safe havens from racial tension. From what I have described thus far, it is clear that Southwell and St. Matthew's are complex and ambiguous institutions. A White man's transition from summer HAP to high school illuminates how racial tensions within the school impeded friendship. Tom described how the strong bonds he felt with his Black HAP friends were broken when he began his freshman year:

I don't want to make it sound like it was war. There were fabulous kids who were able to hold their identities more or less. But it was almost as if, when you were in that cafeteria, well I just never went over there. Maybe once or twice I went over there and I felt very uncomfortable. But it was almost as if I lost the ideal of HAP where there were really no colors. It was like you graduated into a new level where the Blacks had to realize they were in a fight to raise their standard and that everything was going against them. It was just the realization that he's Black, and he's got to try harder.

Tom also told me that he was hesitant to be close to his Black friends because of peer pressure from Whites. He recalled that some students called a particular teacher a "nigger-lover." Though Tom was daunted by the appellation, he was also hurt. He said of the teacher, "I looked up to the man like he was a saint and I still do. He's one of my ideals. He shaped my life."

Just as the transition from HAP to the freshman year of high school strained relationships, the transition from senior year to college pitted some White students against their minority classmates. Seven HAP Scholars told me that racial tensions surfaced when colleges sent out letters of acceptance. Some White students assuaged their disappointment about college rejections by claiming that people of color had unfairly taken their place. The accusation of reverse discrimination eroded interracial ties. Bill, an African-American who is a well-known and highly respected professional and Ivy League alumnus, remembered:

It was horrible. This whole group of White kids who got rejected by all the schools I got into, so of course the only reason I got in was because I was Black. They used the affirmative action excuse. I felt it from April until graduation. I was always justifying the reasons the school saw it necessary to take me. That was really hard.

Several interviewees told me that during high school they developed enduring close friendships across ethnic or social class lines. However, the majority reported that their closest high-school friends were from a similar ethnic and social-class background and often came from the same neighborhood. Friendships between Blacks and Whites rarely extended beyond the walls of the school and when they did, they were difficult to sustain. For Bill, a recent graduate of St. Matthew's, the racist presuppositions of a friend ate away at their relationship. He explained by telling a story:

There were racial slurs but the ironic thing is that although there were only ten of us out of two hundred in my class, ten Blacks and I think five Hispanics or so, we did receive respect. Racial slurs would fly around but it would more or less in a joking manner as opposed to a real serious nature. The first time I experienced someone who really was a racist was in school. It was weird because I've seen racism stuff on television. When we were in school we went to the South Street Seaport and I saw a guy, I didn't know who he was, he was a Black gentleman who walked out of a very nice car so my first impression was like, "Wow, look at that, what a nice car." Some people noticed and other people were so out in space that they didn't notice, but the friend who was with me, without even thinking, the first thing he said was, "Well, look at the chauffeur." I said, "How do you know you that? That could be his car." "No," he answered. He was just so set on the fact.

I asked if he had ever experienced an incident like that before. He responded: "No, not really. I mean I have, but only what you see on T.V. and things like that, but actually to get slapped on the face like that, no. That was my first time."

Outside the walls of Southwell and St. Matthew's, interracial friendships between students faced considerable challenges. The onerous racial hostilities of the city impinged upon the culture of the school. Bill Jones provided a non-violent and far less dramatic example in his story about the first time he went to an away basketball game. Southwell was playing St. Michael's High School in Harlem. Bill was the only Black on Southwell's team; St. Michael's entire team was Black. Bill told me that he asked himself after struggling for a close victory, "Where do I feel at home? What am I doing at Southwell?" Jim, a Black alumnus of Southwell recounted two incidents which illustrate well how the neuralgic racial tensions of the city affected HAP Scholars:

I remember one incident where I was in a train with a White student. I think it was a number two train going home, and he would transfer at either Jay Street or the Flatbush train. It was an empty car and no one came but a bunch of students from another high school, all Black. My friend Richie looked at me and he said, "Can we get off?" I said, "why?" And he said, "Those guys look like they're going to cause some trouble." I said, "don't worry about it." He was really agitated. He really felt uncomfortable and I didn't know why. To me, they were just kids walking on. They didn't have a uniform, they wore sneakers and jeans and they were very loud but no big deal. We did get off a stop and then we switched to another train.

When I asked if he had asked Richie to explain the decision to change trains, Jim responded:

I knew why. He just felt uncomfortable with Blacks, period, or maybe in danger. I don't know. Another incident not quite like that but its the same thing. A guy from Rockaway was having a party on the beach. He came over to me and said, "Fred, I would invite you but you might get lynched. I wouldn't do it and my friends wouldn't do it but there are guys from Far Rockaway who don't particularly accept Blacks; they might. I wouldn't have gone even if he had invited me, and I misunderstood this as his being sensitive to me. I sort of chuckled and said, "Oh, gee thanks." I did the same on the flip side as well. There were parties that the Blacks had that they just never would invite White

students to, not because they would be beat up but just because they wanted to have a certain party.

Throughout a student's experience of an all-boys' high school, relationships with girls play a very important part. Steven, an African-American, talked about the drastic change in his relationships with White males when he showed up at a dance. The facial expressions and body language of his White confrères told him that he was a stranger at the school dance. He just knew that he was not welcomed. A Puerto Rican alumnus named Pete said, "We could do all kinds of male-type things together, but when it was a social situation outside of school then they didn't really think too much of trying to include me." Ned, an African-American from St. Matthew's, told a story that helped me to understand how the power of sexual relationships can reveal deeply ensconced racial prejudice.

You can feel like you're a member of the majority and do the same things... especially, being on an athletic team. It takes you outside of the confines of the school most of the time, and you can feel like you're one of these guys all along until a girl enters the picture. When a girl enters the picture everything changes. This guy who was your best friend suddenly kind of looks at you like, "What are you doing? Why are you looking at that girl or talking to that girl?" I remember going to an away game. We were on a road trip with the baseball team somewhere in New York. And there were some girls around and I remember one of the guys saying, "I don't see any girls for you there, Jeff." Looking around for a Black girl, and that kind of thing would come up a lot. If there was a Black girl they'd say, "Oh, there's one for you."

In the presence of a young woman, the camaraderie of an all-male environment dissipates. Minority students in a White school are reminded that they are strangers.

5. Color, ethnic identity and the phenomenon of passing

In his novel *Thérèse Desqueyroux*, François Mauriac wrote that "...We are, all of us, molded and remolded by those who have loved us. And though that love may pass, we remain nonetheless their work. No love, no friendship can ever cross the path of our destiny without leaving some mark upon it forever." HAP Scholars were molded and remolded by the people who loved them as they tried to answer the classic adolescent question "Who am I?" Intraracial and inter-racial friendships had a powerful influence on the HAP Scholar during his teenage years. He was affected profoundly by his experience of home: either the home of origin or the home of his own creation. In the home of origin, family members, Church, neighborhood and school offered the young person a definition of self. In the home of creation, the "home base" or "cultural cushion" which provided familiarity and safety in the high-school setting, the HAP Scholar came to see himself as part of a minority ethnic and social-class group. The HAP Scholar was also molded by his inclusion in heterogeneous groups formed out of common interests and activities. Finally, many HAP Scholars described the strong impact of the brotherhood of the school; the camaraderie that came from being a Southwell man or a Prepster.

As the experience of inclusion in a group molded the self-perception of the HAP Scholar, his identity was remolded by the experience of exclusion from a group. In the curriculum, he encountered a world of knowledge in which people like himself were conspicuously absent. In classroom interactions, he often felt the need to shelter himself from painful realities about his people's legacy as victims, or he tried to disprove painful stereotypes. In the broader culture of the school, he sometimes felt the slap of blatant racism or he lost his innocence in the face of the deeply imbedded prejudicial attitudes of the adults and students in the school. All of these factors contributed to his sense of self.

Each HAP Scholar had his own way answering the question "Who am I?" Some described themselves primarily by their activities in school: jocks, intellectuals, debaters, actors or musicians. Some stressed the importance of the Higher Achievement Program which introduced them to the school and occupied them every summer; when asked who they were they would respond: "I was a HAP tutor." Some identified themselves ethnically: as an Ecuadorian, a Grenadian, a Pole or a Filipino. Others used geography to define themselves: "I was a Brooklyn boy" or "I came from the Heights." Many distinguished themselves by the relatively low social-class status of their families. Nearly all of them made some reference to race. I learned not to underestimate the power of physical appearance in determining identity, affiliation with a group, and one's place within a particular school culture.

When I asked Fred, an alumnus of St. Matthew's, how he answered the question "Who am I?" he told me that when he was in school, "I wasn't a person, I was a race." Fred, like a priest in a Roman collar, wore his identity. However, he could never take the collar off. The values that others associated with skin color and facial features determined in part who he was, the identity he took on. Though this phenomenon is evident in men like Fred who could not take off the collar, it was more striking among those who could.

One of the first people I interviewed was Bob, a Puerto Rican and recent graduate of Southwell. He had sandy hair, olive complexion and brown eyes; to me, he looked Mediterranean. During the interview, Bob told me that he had never experienced racism in high school. When I asked him to explain the reason, he first described the school setting:

There was a sense of needing to be part of a clique. There weren't that many people of color...a very small group... There were a few other Hispanics but most people in the group were Americans: Irish and Italians.

He then speculated on the reason he never tasted racism:

I never experienced racism and I don't know why, but it could be because of my skin color... I'm lighter than most Hispanics and it could be my English... it could be my mannerisms. I guess I could pass.

Though I understood his words, I found myself intrigued and troubled. I asked myself what the phenomenon of passing reveals about the norms and the values of the school culture. When a HAP Scholar tried to pass as someone else, he knew that he was disvalued as he was. Another Puerto Rican, Roberto, explained how passing was a means of coping, a strategy to deal with a culture which conveyed a message that Italian heritage is better than Puerto Rican heritage. Roberto told me that without a strong sense of one's home of origin, the temptation to pass is great:

If a guy has been inculturated to kind of downplay his role as a Hispanic male, then I could easily see someone making a statement like, "There wasn't any outward racism toward me because my name was not noticeable and I could pretty much pass." I could have passed with my name. And the first couple of days the question was, "Are you Italian?" I said, "No, I'm Puerto Rican, and I come from such a such a place." So if you weren't careful and if you didn't have a strong family upbringing with regards to your culture, with regards to making sure that you are proud of what you are and who you are, then I could understand where a guy might want to go that way, not outwardly denying who he was, but not outwardly presenting himself as being Mr. Puerto Rican or Mr. Cuban either. And there's nothing against them because it's just basically how you're brought up within yourself. It's like to each his own. Everyone has to deal with that and everyone dealt with the situation his own way.

Rachel Countryman described the phenomenon of passing. Countryman has a Black father and a White mother (1985). Because of skin color and facial features, she can pass as White. As a student in an elite prep school, life would have been easier for Rachel as a White girl. Yet, she chose to identify herself as Black. In a similar vein, a HAP Scholar of mixed heritage recounted a powerful story about his refusal to pass, his willingness to "get slapped" by racism:

I guess in the Hispanic group, there are certain Hispanics who cannot pass for being White. Obviously their skin may be darker. I guess the hair nappier. But there are Hispanics that look like me and even people, when I tell them, they don't believe me. So I guess here most of the kids that are Hispanic would have a kind of an Hispanic look, a Caribbean look. There are two or three other kids that are like me that I thought were just White and I found out that they're half and half just like myself. I guess if you don't feel comfortable with it and you don't feel comfortable with what you are, being Hispanic or in my case being both, I can see the idea of trying to hide one over the other because now I work at Christian Service with senior citizens in an Italian neighborhood near my house, and a lot of times they ask me, "What are you?" And I kind of know... when you get older your mind starts to become a little bit more narrow-minded. I was wondering to myself what would I say. Would I say just Irish or would I say both? And I said both because I always promised myself to say, "I am both and I'm proud of that fact." The reaction I got was maybe would explain why people would hide it. The woman told me, "Oh your mom must be a very respectable Puerto Rican."

The phenomenon of passing applies not only to ethnic identity. A Chinese HAP Scholar expanded my understanding of the notion when he spoke about social-class identity. Mike came from a low-income family, but he tried to pass as a member of the middle class:

I didn't come from a wealthy family so I guess in that way I had to adjust a little bit. My parents were good about it because whatever money I needed to keep up with the rest of the group, they would let me keep up. For example, in terms of dress, because I had to wear the tie and jacket my parents always asked me, "Do you have enough clothes?" When I was a junior and senior kids were driving back then and I couldn't keep up with that, I didn't get a car. But in terms of appearance, my parents made sure that I sort of kept up with the crowd...Even though we were poor, my parents made it so that at least I wouldn't feel poor. I was going to a rich school. They would make sure that I had nice clothes.

Passing reveals as much about the culture of the school as it does about the individual who passes. An investigation of this phenomenon provides important insight into the experience of low-income students of color in middle-class schools. It raises the level of discourse beyond the espoused rhetoric of the institution to its ambiguous lived reality.

6. The role of social class

Catholic schools like Southwell and St. Matthew's have a tradition of providing educational opportunity to lower and middle-class immigrant populations. Administrators and teachers with whom I spoke were quick to insist that the schools are not affluent. Given the Church's preferential option for the poor and the needs of young people in the United States today, it is not surprising that Catholic educators avoid the categorization of elitism. Like most Catholic institutions across the nation, Southwell and St. Matthew's have experienced upward mobility in the last twenty-five years. As I demonstrated previously however, even with increased tuition and higher social standing in the eyes of many, these institutions are different than their non-Catholic independent school counterparts: they are urban, religious schools with a substantial minority population and a majority population whose members are from Irish, Italian and Eastern European middle-class families. Nonetheless, a significant number of HAP Scholars felt excluded because they considered themselves members of a lower social class than their classmates. One of them told me, "I just always felt poor in school." When I asked HAP Scholars to explain how they formed their judgments about the social-class status of their confrères, they often referred to geography. Students were aware of the location of others' homes and made judgments according to that criterion. While HAP Scholars from St. Matthew's often distinguished urban students from suburban students, those from Southwell tended to distinguish one section of the city from another. Tom, an African-American, recalled the subway ride home from school with his White friends: "I'd get off every day at a station in Brooklyn they wouldn't dream of stopping at. They'd go on to Queens and I'd go home around the corner."

Because of Southwell's location, students took public transportation every day. At St. Matthew's, however, many students had cars. When I asked HAP Scholars from St. Matthew's to tell me how they perceived themselves as poor, several told me, "All you had to do was go to the parking lot before and after school." Steven, an African-American urban student, explained:

I'll tell you what, we had guys driving to school and I'm sure they were their father's cars... there was one guy who drove to school in a Jaguar. I kid you not, it was a silver Jaguar. One guy drove to school in an old Cadillac, and one guy in a Mercedes Benz. So they weren't doing that badly, not badly at all.

Socioeconomic differences were evident during the school day as well as before and after classes. Though physical appearance played a more subtle role in determining socioeconomic status than it did in determining ethnic identification, it was nonetheless significant. Some HAP Scholars told me that boys were not concerned about appearance. However, many HAP Scholars were like Mike, the alumnus I quoted in the last section, who tried to pass as a member of the middle class. They noticed Champion sweatshirts in the gym, well-tailored jackets and expensive silk ties, Rolex watches and fancy footwear. Louis, a Haitian alumnus of Southwell, told me:

I had one pair of shoes and everybody was sporting all these shoes and the penny loafers and the stylish clothes. You know they wore these certain kind of shoes with the laces all around, you know like loafers or something. No, I never had those. I had one blazer. I kept wearing the same kind of pants, same kind of shirt. It seemed like everybody was dressed better than I. They had clothing to show.

Physical appearance was not the only indicator of socioeconomic status. Some HAP Scholars talked about feeling excluded because they could not afford to participate in events such as the prom and school-sponsored trips. Others mentioned that they were unable to participate fully in the life of the school because they had to work long hours elsewhere to supplement family income. Throughout the interviews, men recalled conversations with their peers in which social-class differences surfaced in an off-handed fashion. Richie, an African-American alumnus of Southwell, talked about obvious indicators of wealth: "Everybody had things and everybody was like, 'I have this Atari, this Nintendo. I'm going to go home and work on my computer.' It seems that everybody had more money than I did." Raúl, a Latino alumnus of St. Matthew's, spoke about more subtle marks of affluence:

There were just all the little things I didn't know: names of people, brands of clothing, plays and music, places I had never visited or heard of, jokes I just didn't get. Everyone else would laugh, I'd pretend and laugh too.

Though the signs of wealth differed, the impact was the same: the HAP Scholar felt like a stranger in his own school. Pete, a Puerto Rican immigrant, explained:

That was one of my main problems, my main fear was relating with other people that were of higher income because I just felt uncomfortable. I felt that they would look down upon me as some poor kid and I didn't want the pity. I'd rather they didn't know me. I'd rather not have to deal with that kind of thing and be isolated. Not that I was so embarrassed about being poor. I accepted it, that was part of my life. I just didn't know how I was going to be viewed by other people and in the past, kids can be cruel, so I just didn't want to deal with that.

The upward mobility of the U.S. Catholic population challenges schools that attempt to function as communities for low-income students of color. The espoused vocation of a Catholic high school is to teach endow students with an understanding of the structural roots of injustice in social institutions, attitudes and customs; a sense of compassion for the victims of injustice and a concern for those social changes which will assist them in gaining their rights and increased human dignity; and a theology in which the commitment to faith necessarily implies a commitment to a just society. The HAP Scholar's perception of social-class inferiority is a valuable source of data. The feelings of exclusion and inferiority that some HAP Scholars reported reveal the distance between the school's highly-charged rhetoric about social justice and its lived reality, the learning that educators espouse and the learning that actually takes place. The stories of HAP Scholars resurrect the awkward social dislocation revealed in minutiae: not knowing which fork to use, what magazines to read, what syllable to stress. Many who will never fully understand what it is like to be Black or Latino or Asian do understand what it is like to be poor.

7. The importance of adults of color in the school

When I asked HAP Scholars how Southwell and St. Matthew's could be welcoming to students of color, they came to the same conclusion: the adult community in a school should reflect the ethnic diversity of the student body. All of the HAP Scholars mentioned some nurturing relationships with members of the non-minority professional staff at their respective high schools. As the HAP Scholar sought to establish his own identity however, role models of color were very important, especially in the home of origin. Parents, friends and family gave them a sense of identity and pride. Within the school, when HAP Scholars felt confused, isolated or inferior they mentioned adult role models; either the lack of such individuals in the schools, or the importance of the handful of minority men who were part of school life. Among them was Bill Jones, an administrator and teacher; Paul Gonzalez, a Spanish teacher; and a Black Baptist minister who taught religion at St. Matthew's named Reverend Thompson.

Though there were few adults on the professional staff, interviewees mentioned the leadership of HAP Scholars themselves who work as tutors during the summer session and occasionally during the year. A Black alumna named Mike told me:

When I went to HAP, there were strong role models--the tutors, teachers--who were just like me, a year or two ahead of me. I could sit in the classroom and I could see that, he did this last year and now he's a tutor; he did this two years ago, now he's at a good college; he did this five years ago and now he's a businessman. That was the greatest benefit of having the tutors, having role models and mentors who essentially allowed you to see the range of possibilities and see what was out there if you did the same kind of things. The desire to be a tutor was a feeling within to want to do the same kind of thing and pass it on.

Though tutors were a strong positive presence, they were not part of the adult community of the school. I already know that it is important for both White students and students of color to have an adult community that reflects the diversity of both the students and the community beyond the school's walls. I asked HAP Scholars to help me understand why it is important. A Puerto Rican named Roberto told me:

Because there's a role model there, because there is somebody there who you can look up to who has been, or who you think has been, where you were or where you are. While you can have all the support in the world, while you can have all the people around you and your family telling you how terrific a person you are, or how great you'll be if you keep on working, if you don't see the fruits of that type of work, like seeing somebody else who has gotten there, then all of the pushing and all of the confidence building in the world isn't really going to help you because you turn around and you say, "Well yeah, I can be the smartest person in the world. I can be number one at Southwell but from what I see here it doesn't make a difference." And it hurts, it hurts a great deal.

In reference to the subtle feelings of exclusion he experienced, a Latino named Fred told me, "I just needed to talk to someone who knows what it's like. None of the teachers did." Tom, an African-American, told me that sometimes he just wished that he could walk into a classroom or an office in the guidance area or the chaplain's office or the main office "and see someone who looked like me." That is an ironic statement in an institution where the metaphor of family is so prevalent.

Administrators recognize the need for a more diverse adult community in these two schools. However, steady enrollment, a stable faculty, and budgetary constraints mitigate against hiring new staff. Unless diversity becomes a top priority, the number of faculty of color is certain to remain minuscule and students of color, despite good intentions and visionary rhetoric, will see themselves as strangers.

RESEARCH SIGNIFICANCE

Gap widening
Analysis of data from the 1990 census indicate that the percentage of non-Whites in the U.S. population is increasing dramatically. Despite this change in minority status for people of color, disparities in educational attainment, health and mortality, income remain (Massey and Denton, 1993). Geographic segregation continues also; 86% of minorities live in urban areas. (O'Hare, 1992, p. 23). Racism is in fact "America's congenital disease." (Goodlad, 1992). Twenty-five years ago the Kerner Commission warned that, unless drastic steps were taken, the United States would become "two nations, separate and unequal; one black, one white; one rich, one poor; one urban, one suburban" In his recent book, social scientist Andrew Hacker (1992) posits that the prophecy of the late 60's has been realized. There is a continuing link between race and class (Zweigenhaft and Domhoff, 1991) It is indisputable that the gap between wealthy and poor has continued to widen in the past decade. Statistics that reveal vast disparities in income,

housing options, health care and educational opportunities have shattered our image of a large and growing middle class where volition determines opportunity. Marian Wright Edelman and many others paint a bleak picture of this bifurcated society in which the young, especially those in the cities, suffer most (Children's Defense Fund, 1991; Hewlett, 1991). One-fourth of America's children live in poverty, 100,000 of them are homeless; inadequate housing and health care for so many places us low on the list of industrialized nations. And in the future, a growing percentage of those in poverty will be children of color. In a recent demographic analysis one reads, "By the year 2000, one in three children will be from a minority population, compared with about one in four today. Child poverty rates, however, are two to three times higher for minority children than for non-Hispanic whites," (Ahlburg and DeVita, 1992).

Schools reflect these inequalities. In his characteristically homiletic style, Jonathan Kozol vividly illustrates the ongoing segregation of the wealthy and the poor in U.S. schools (Kozol, 1991). Lowell Weiker, Governor of Connecticut, last month devoted his State of the State address to the growing segregation by race of his state's public schools. There are numerous court cases across the country which challenge the inequitable funding of public education. In an article published by *The Boston Globe* on January 8, 1992, Gary Orfield stated the case clearly:

"...breach[ing] city-suburban boundaries is the key to making integration work." He suggested as a model the state of Delaware, which has created a series of city-suburban school districts that have yielded the most racially mixed educational environments nationally. In stark contrast and far more typical is the city of Boston whose school population is 80% minority and 20% white, in contrast to the racial percentages of the city's school-age population about 60% minority and 40% white. In fact, many see ours as an era of resegregation by school. And if desegregation happens at all, the case of Chelsea Clinton reminds us that it will not happen in East St. Louis or Camden, New Jersey or the South Bronx; it will happen in white affluent schools.

The vast majority of professional school personnel are and, for the foreseeable future, will be white and middle-class. Recent national statistics indicate that only 6.9% of the teaching force is Black and only 1.9% Hispanic. Therefore, in a typical teacher education department of 400 students 362 students are White, 22 Black, 7 Hispanic, 3 Asian and 3 Native American (Haberman, 1989). The Quality Education for Minorities Project's fourth national goal is to quintuple the number of minority college students who enter teaching from the current 6,000 per year to 30,000 by the turn of the century (1990). Given current rates of students of color in teaching, that goal seems elusive. The authors of *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century* report that we face "...a future in which both white and minority children are confronted with almost exclusively white authority figures in school" (Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, 1986).

Given the mismatch between the cultural profile of the adult community of the school with the student community, it is incumbent upon the educational research community to provide insight into the challenges, opportunities and obstacles these young people face and to identify policies and programs that foster the development of welcoming school communities. One of the major obstacles to progressing in this area is the refusal to face trends that separate Americans, especially along lines of race and gender. Claude Steele expresses the sentiments of many when he writes: "I sense a certain caving-in of hope in America that problems of race can be solved. Since the sixties, when race relations held promise for the dawning of a new era, the issue has become one whose persistence causes "problem fatigue," (1992, p.68).

There is a need in the educational research community for more data in order to increase the level of insight into the complex and deep ambivalence raised by the complex questions which help us appreciate the reality of segregation *in* school. Such work must be done with humility and in conjunction with adults of color. One student of color put it well: "Poised between two different worlds, I have learned that the emotional power of some experiences can never be conveyed to another. Outsiders can begin to appreciate that which is foreign to them when they realize that they will never fully understand" (Neira, 1988, p. 342).

It is essential to acknowledge Neira's characterization of White people as "outsiders." Though I am a White man from a suburb north of Boston speaking to men of color in New York, I looked at their experiences through my own. Though I did not grow up in a dangerous and violent neighborhood, I understand strict parents who value education. Though I never experienced cultural dislocation in school, I do know the comfort of being in the presence of fellow Americans in a foreign country. As someone who was working middle-class and required scholarship aid, I studied those who have felt exclusion on grounds of social class. Many who will never fully understand what it is like to be Black or Latino or Asian do understand what it is like to be poor. The images HAP Scholars used to describe socioeconomic self-perception can evoke in White readers like myself an understanding that transcends ethnic divisions. Being a man of non-Anglo descent helps me to reawaken in the ethnic White reader the memory of being a stranger in a culture dominated by White Anglo-Saxon Protestants. Though these analogies can be helpful, it is nonetheless important to remember that the exclusion experienced by people of color is of a far greater magnitude (Alba, 1990; Waters, 1990). Analogous experience is always in the context of White privilege.

My autobiographical reflections not only gave me an empathic stance; they have also revealed my own biases and ignorance. My first interview provides a dramatic example. Paul, a Black alumnus of St. Matthew's from a low-income family in the ghetto, shattered my preconception of cultural deprivation in his confession of using a trot for Latin class:

My parents had the Harvard Classics, and they also had the great books of the western world, and I lucked out: there was Hercules in English. I checked the Latin dictionary to see that my translation wasn't perfect, but the bottom line is I knew Hercules.

I was predisposed to believe that "educationally deprived" or "at risk" students could not come from homes with a collection of Harvard classics.

By using the evocation methodology I hope to raise the level of conversation about students of color in Catholic-school settings. Given the paucity of adults of color in schools for the foreseeable future, this methodology is needed to help school leaders understand better the richness and complexity of institutional exclusion and inclusion. As I mentioned earlier, when the school is seen as a community, especially with a diverse student body, the culture must be seen in all its richness and complexity. In this regard, Bolman and Deal point out the need to raise the knotty question about the "two faces of symbols," embodiment of meaning and camouflage, (1987,p.224). This is especially true in Catholic schools with their highly-charged religious rhetoric which can inspire but also obscure the lived reality.

Directions for Further Research

First, I chose to explore a human phenomenon rather than to evaluate a program. As a result, there is need for an evaluation of the summer Higher Achievement Program, its teaching staff, its curriculum and its extra-curricular activities. For example, HAP students are tracked into classes according to the scores they received on academic achievement tests they took on the first day of the summer session. Is this system appropriate in a program that aims to foster high self-esteem and downplay divisions? In addition, does the highly competitive sports program undermine the espoused ethos of cooperation?

Second, I wanted to further expose the breadth of institutional inclusion and exclusion. There is a lack of evocative research about the experience of low-income minority students in Catholic secondary schools. My intent was to generate discussion and raise the level of discourse about this phenomenon in this population. There is now a need to examine each finding raised in this thesis. For example, the issue of interpersonal dynamics revealed by the centrality of the "Black table" could be explored more fully. Or one could inquire more extensively about the transition from the summer session to the high school. This phenomenon received strong negative reaction about the movement from one world to another world, the world of HAP to the world of high school.

Third, one might consider a new research strategy, that of autobiographical or biographical work on one HAP Scholar. In this context, one could look at what it is like to straddle the world of home and the world of school. Secondly, s/he could investigate the

changes the HAP Scholar and his significant others' experience over time, prior to and following high school. Moreover, though this dissertation was directed by an African-American, I would like to conduct further interviews with a person of color.

Fourth, a researcher could look at a different population. I chose to study the phenomenon of inclusion and exclusion among adolescents. In the interviews, HAP Scholars discussed the importance of elementary school experiences in their socialization. Might this not indicate that this phenomenon is established in that setting? In a different light, other students indicated that this awareness emerged as they left their home environment and entered either college or graduate school. Did the home environment minimize perceptions of exclusion?

Fifth, logistics and time dictated that I survey only the 79% of the HAP Scholars who graduated from St. Matthew's or Southwell. It would be helpful to include the perspective of those who left these high schools. What features of their school experiences prompted them to go elsewhere?

Sixth, I chose to study men in a Catholic, single-sex setting. Would the same themes surface for men in a coeducational Catholic high school? Would they use similar images or recount comparable stories to describe their experience? In that vein, would students in a public, White, middle-class school describe similar phenomena?

Seventh, I enjoyed the privileges of insider status in a Catholic school. How would a researcher who was not viewed as part of the setting encounter the phenomenon -- a non-Catholic doing research in a Catholic high school or a woman working in an all-male institution?

This work received its first validation among a representative sample of the thirty-two men who participated in the open-ended interviews I conducted. I revisited eight of these men and presented my findings to them. They told me that this work is a faithful representation of the breadth and complexity of their experiences of inclusion and exclusion in secondary school. While further validation is needed, their validation may portend a wider audience among people of color, those who know and have experienced first-hand the blatant and subtle racism that I describe in this work. I respect the uniqueness of their experience. In order to evoke understanding in myself and others, I have dared to speak about their lives.

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